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example, they describe an adolescent girl as one whose breasts 561
are beginning to grow.

The Kwoma class a person as an infant as long as he still [353]
suckles. He remains in this category from two to four years, depending upon various contingencies such as his health or the birth of a younger sibling.[9] The weaning period, the [862]
transition between infancy and childhood, lasts from one to two years. A Kwoma is usually somewhere between four and six years of age before he is established as a child. The child- [858]
hood category for boys runs from the end of weaning to the [881]
first initiation into the age-grade cycle, which roughly coincides with pubescence. A girl enters adolescence with the ceremony that is held at first menstruation. The period of adoles- [304]
cence extends from the end of childhood to a ceremony in [884]
which the boy or the girl is cicatrized. This takes place at about sixteen or seventeen, usually just before marriage for the boy and just after marriage for the girl. All persons who have been cicatrized are classified as adults.[10]

In addition to the maturation hierarchy, there is a system of age grades. A boy is initiated into the first of the four grades at adolescence, and into each of the next higher grades at approximately five-year intervals thereafter. While [302]
he is a member of each grade, he is permitted to wear a type of hair ornament which symbolizes his position.

In addition to the categories based on kinship, locality, 592
and age, the Kwoma divide themselves into a variety of groups for the purpose of carrying out economic activities. A brother and sister before they are married, or a husband and wife after marriage, constitute a team to extract sago flour. The households of two or more brothers, or of a father 592 476

[9] Although a mother is theoretically prohibited from indulging in sexual intercourse while she is still nursing an infant, not all mothers abide by this rule. [884]

[10] The aged also form a group which properly belongs in the maturation hierarchy. They have been arbitrarily excluded from this study. Old age begins technically when a person has gone through the age-grade cycle first as an initiate and then as an initiator. This puts it at approximately fifty years. [888]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 12]

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854 or stomach-ache, the mother cuts the skin on his temple or
757 belly and allows blood to flow from the wound.[5] In this sphere, therefore, an infant experiences pain without anticipating any possibility of its reduction except by slow and natural means.

854 Very few aggressive responses are established during in-
865 fancy. The infant is not big or strong enough to alleviate pains by removing the source. Loud crying is, however, established at this time. A parent will say, "The infant is cross."[6] Nevertheless, a mother helps her infant even if he is crying angrily. In fact, the louder he cries, the more effort she expends trying to aid him, so that aggression is rewarded rather than punished. Infants also gain some success in the technique of killing mosquitoes, an act classed as aggression in Kwoma culture.[7]

• 858 As regards prestige, the Kwoma infant enjoys in a sense the most dominant social position that he will ever attain. His every command is obeyed, and all his wants are attended to. For the remainder of his life he can only expect to have his commands obeyed after he has, by the expenditure of considerable effort, gained a position of high prestige.

[753]

[5] Such pains are supposed to be caused by an accumulation of bad blood. This theory will be described below. See chap. iv, p. 64.

[6] *Wejowa*, "to be cross"; or *awambato*, "to speak angrily."

[7] The Kwoma term for killing a mosquito is *yugisa fiju*, "to fight a mosquito." *Fiju*, "to fight," is the general term for aggression.

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and eliminating similar minor dangers, he is now punished for becoming angry with his parents, as was shown by the scolding received by Kum for crying loudly for his mother. 865

In the realm of prestige, the Kwoma child during the period of weaning plunges from the very top to the very bottom of the social hierarchy. Most of the commands which he issues are now ignored, and the help which he expects is denied him. Furthermore, he has to learn to obey the commands of others during this period. His control over his social environment is at a minimum. 858 •

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CHAPTER IV

CHILDHOOD

857
• 858 WHEN the child[1] has relinquished his attempts to recapture the preferred habits of infancy, his mother gives him a little bag which she has netted for him and his father the betel-chewing accoutrements to go with it. They tell him that he has become a little man. He now turns to the play group and spends his time playing games with other children, roaming in the forest, and participating to some extent in adult activities. The sexes avoid each other from this time, the boys and the girls forming separate play groups.

824 The widening of a boy's contact with the environment
825 necessitates new discriminations about the edibility of things.
861 While playing in the forest he comes across luscious-looking
262 berries which may cause his death if he does not know that
[524] they are poisonous. Kwoma boys play a game in which they kill lizards and snakes and cook and eat them in a playhouse[2] in the jungle. Some of these reptiles are good to eat; others are poisonous. The parents warn the child about the objects that are poisonous. When I went for a walk with a native, he would frequently point out some class of objects to be avoided. Children were as likely to teach me as adults. Once a little girl of eight was scathing in her comments about me because I did not know that a certain berry was not good to eat. Although I observed no specific example of an older sibling using this technique on a younger one, I feel confident that it occurred rather frequently. In any case, the training

[118] [123] [1] Mey, Fit, Kwos, Gwamp, Ham, and Hamb—boys, and Afi, Buka, Haya, Toka, Kayamaka, and Yawa—girls, constituted the personnel of the childhood age group of Rumbima hamlet. Mey, Fit, Kwos, and Ham spent much of their time running in and out of my house and playing near by and therefore provided most of the observational data on the boys in this age group. Afi and Buka, who lived in houses next to mine, provided most of the data on girls.

[2] A rough bough hut which children construct for play.

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getting the wood or water on days when their mothers are busy with some other task, and are punished if they do not. One day Buka forgot to get firewood, and Wof, her father, beat her for her negligence, when he returned and found none.

Children of both sexes participate in the work of gardening[7] by helping to clear the site. It is their duty, together with the women and old men, to clear the ground of underbrush while the adult men are in the treetops lopping off the branches. In contrast to some of the other gardening tasks reported later, children are expected to help with this work and are scolded by their parents and older siblings if they do not. Toward the end of childhood the boys are allowed to climb some of the smaller trees and try their hand at "man's" work.

In the process of breaking the ground and planting, the children usually accompany their parents to the garden site and watch the work. The older children sometimes help by putting the seed beside the hills. The younger ones, on the other hand, are likely to get bored and to retire to the edge of the forest to play. Children are forbidden actually to put seed yams in the ground, for only an adult who has been elected to *Nokwi*[8] may do this. When the yam shoots break the ground and it is time to hang stringers up which the vines may climb, the family again goes to the garden, the women carrying the split liana stringers and the men draping them from tree limbs. The older girls help their mothers by carrying a small bundle, the boys their fathers and older brothers by keeping them supplied with lianas. If the boys get tired of this and wish to play, the men carry on by themselves. Ham and Mey, for instance, on one occasion helped for about an hour and played during the rest of the morning. Weeding is the responsibility of adult women, and girls only help if they wish to. When the yams are harvested the children render more effective assistance, the boys in picking

[7] Gardening and other economic tasks in which the child participates will be described in more detail in succeeding chapters.

[8] *Nokwi* is the highest stage of the yam cult.

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Kwoma culture defines this as immoral only on the part of the boy.

Although a Kwoma becomes considerably more independent on entering the status of childhood, he still relies upon his parents in cases of serious injuries or sickness. If he has a bad boil, a parent or older sibling will lance it for him with a bamboo knife. They treat his sores by irrigating them with warm water in which certain herbs have been cooked. The cooked herbs are used as a sponge and the medicated water is squeezed over the sore. They pick away the proud flesh so that the wound does not heal over too quickly, and force the child to sit quietly in the sun so that its rays strike the sore. When a child suffers from an ache in the stomach or head or from a sprained and swollen joint, one of his parents will practice phlebotomy upon him as they did during the weaning period. Parents react to serious sickness in their children by specialized anti-sorcery behavior to be described later. A child coöperates in these activities, but the responsibility rests with the parents.

A child's environmental horizon widens upon his entry into childhood. When he ranges into the forest with his playmates and accompanies his parents to swamp and garden, he comes into contact with aspects of the environment which may be injurious. He learns to cope with them more and more by himself. Sometimes he discovers that aggression, at other times avoidance, is the more appropriate response. He kills scorpions, lizards, and small snakes which threaten him, but learns to avoid the larger animals. If a large snake appears on the path, he will walk around it. He keeps away from places where he may meet wild pigs or crocodiles. He learns not to step on sago bark unless the thorns have been removed and therefore to take care in walking in the mud of the swamp. He learns which of the bushes and shrubs in the forest bear nettles and which can be walked through with impunity. He learns to predict when a storm is coming so that he may return to the house before it begins to rain.

A child's parents and older siblings continue to help him avoid these dangers by warning him. In consequence, a child

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121 of money, hearing words of praise, receiving affection, avoiding disgusting objects, and satisfying appetites are some of the common acquired rewards which are present in our society.

121 853 The Miller-Dollard paradigm may be illustrated from the Kwoma data presented in the previous chapters. An example will be taken more or less at random from each period in the life cycle in order to elucidate the terms of the paradigm. Kwoma infants when they are hungry turn toward their mother's breast and suckle. In this case the drive is hunger; the response is turning toward the mother's breast and suckling; the cues are the sight of the mother and her breast, and the feeling of contact with her; and the reward is the ingestion of milk. From many repetitions of this sequence an infant learns the habit of turning toward the mother's breast and suckling when he is hungry in the presence of the mother.

121 862 During the weaning period a Kwoma child learns not to cling to his mother.[11] In this case the drive is pain from being pushed away and the fear of being scolded, the response is staying away from the mother, the cues are the presence of the mother, and the reward is escape from pain and reduction of fear.

121 796 858 During childhood a Kwoma boy learns to avoid the house tamberan while ceremonies are being held. The drive in this case is anxiety (he is warned that he would die if he did so); the response is avoiding the house tamberan; the cues are the sound of the gong rhythms, the statements of others that a ceremony is being held, the sight of his father, *uncles*, and older *brothers* decorating themselves; the reward is escape from anxiety. In adolescence a boy learns to carry on secret love affairs with adolescent girls. The drives are sex, sex appetite, and anxiety (sex impells him to seek girls, sex appetite leads him to choose a girl culturally defined as attractive, and anxiety impells him to do so secretly); the response is the complex of behavior which leads to and includes sexual intercourse in the bush; the cues are the sight of an attrac-

121 883 836

[11] Not to cling to his mother should be thought of as a habit of avoidance involving active responses, rather than as the absence of a habit.

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The warnings which Kwoma teachers issue may be divided into two categories: realistic and unrealistic. A realistic warning is one which, if not heeded, will result in pain from the source specified, whereas an unrealistic warning is one which, if not heeded, will not result in pain from the source specified.

Realistic warnings are continually employed by Kwoma teachers concerning all the dangers which appear in the natural and social environments. To list all the warnings a person might receive in the course of his life would be to list much of the culture. It is expedient, however, to mention a few of these warnings in order to indicate how strongly the habit of heeding is built up in the Kwoma pupil. During the weaning period a child is warned not to go too far from home lest he get lost, not to eat certain poisonous foods lest he become sick or die, and not to take or destroy the property of others lest he be punished by the owners. During childhood he is warned not to be impolite to relatives lest they scold him, not to walk about in the houses of other people lest they punish him, not to go alone in the swamp lest he be killed by a wild pig or crocodile, and not to hurt a sibling seriously lest he thereby hurt himself. A boy is warned not to stare at the genitals of females lest they punish him, and not to have an erection in front of his *sister* lest she beat his penis with a stick. Girls are warned not to behave immodestly lest they be criticized. An adolescent boy is warned not to be lazy lest no woman choose him for a husband, not to be caught philandering lest he be attacked by the girl's relatives, not to rape a girl lest he be killed by her relatives, not to hunt pigs lest he be killed or injured, and not to trespass on the property of others lest he be forced to pay damages. An adolescent girl is warned not to be lazy lest no one marry her, and not to be unchaste lest her *brothers* refuse to help and protect her. Adults are also frequently warned by friends and relatives throughout their lives.

Whenever a Kwoma child does not heed one of the above-listed warnings, it is highly probable that he will experience the pain specified in the warning and that he will be scolded

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ings about ghosts are issued during childhood. Boys and girls are warned not to go abroad at night lest they be attacked by ghosts, not to approach the places specified as the land of the dead lest an accident befall them, not to go near the platform on which the dead are exposed lest the ghosts which hover around harm them, and not to whistle at night lest they attract these dangerous supernatural beings. Adolescents are warned not to disobey the commands of a ghost as they are issued through the medium of a possessed person lest they come to harm. 869 775 [787] [882]

The Kwoma believe that certain people have the power to injure or kill by means of sorcery. They do so either by inserting a magical "poison" into food to be eaten by the victim or by burning in a special clay pot certain materials, particularly food leavings, blood, and semen, which have been associated with the victim. A child is first warned about sorcery during the weaning period, when he is told not to eat food given him by anyone except a close relative, lest there be "poison" in it, and not to eat away from home lest he carelessly spill crumbs with which he can be sorcerized. These warnings are repeated during childhood, and others are added. A boy is warned not to spill the blood of the snakes and marsupials which he kills, lest it be found by a sorcerer and used against him. He is also warned to be careful not to spill his own blood when he cuts himself. Adolescent boys are warned not to have sexual intercourse with a girl who is likely to give his sperm to a sorcerer. Adolescent girls are warned to dispose of their menstrual blood carefully, so that it cannot be used as sorcery material. 869 754 [862] [858] [882] [833] [841]

The Kwoma believe that food is converted into blood, which remains in the system for a time and then deteriorates. Good (fresh) blood is responsible for the health of an adult and the normal growth of a child. Bad (deteriorated) blood causes sickness and pain and prevents normal growth. It follows from this theory that bad blood must be removed from the system in order to insure good health and normal growth, and that care must be taken not to eat food contaminated with bad blood and thus get it back into the system. 869 826

346 slightly larger at the top and about three-and-one-half feet high. It gave the impression of the hull of a very high and stubby ship sailing
346 parallel to the long axis of the house. At each end were two large carved
532 wooden figures standing upright. These figures had shuttle-shaped bodies of feather work with no representation of arms, legs or wings. The feathers were slate blue and resembled those of the gouria pigeon; they were arranged similarly to their natural state on the bird. The head of each figure was a carved face about one and one-half feet high and nine inches broad. Rather than full figure, the carving was more similar to relief work. The cheeks were hollow rather than rounded and gave the impression of a dish face. The nose was disproportionately long and pointed, the mouth small and round. The entire face was painted in black, white, and red. In addition to these two masks or statuettes, others were distributed around the edge of the basket. Their size varied, but all of them were smaller than the figures at each end of the basket. Some of them had featherwork bodies, others no bodies, and one a wooden body roughly shaped and representing a female. In addition, the whole altar was decorated with red berries and yellow leaves attached here and there.

796 When we entered the building the "finish timers" crowded around us
123 and warned us that the "sing-sing" was a ceremony for adult men only and that
[562] we must not say anything about it to either the women or children. We
[858] were also warned not to mention it to the Patrol officer, or they might
[648] get in trouble. (The government has no policy of restricting such ceremonies except when they are directly connected with head hunting). The main purpose of the peroration seemed to be to impress us with the importance of the
[532] affair. We were then led up to the altar and shown each of the figures,

796 however, partook of both. Tip and I tried the yam-coconut combination--
264 mashed yams with hunks of coconut mixed in-- which was really pretty good. It
[262] was served in a halved coconut shell accompanied by a European spoon. When
123 the other meal combination was brought to us, to avoid repeating the previous
[177] experience, we said the second type meal was taboo to us. This was another good joke which was repeated around the house tamberan.

796 After the meal was over we were again given a coconut and a couple of
123 yams and told to go home. One of the "savvy talks" carried the gifts for us. The singsing continued all that afternoon, evening and ended the next
[562] morning. The women and children had come, we were told, in the afternoon
858 soon after we had left, and remained there until the end.

It is not too good to be sent away in the middle of things, but I feel that by the time they have another singsing we will perhaps have their confidence enough to be given more freedom. I think they are a little mistrustful of white men after the shooting episode in 1928.

October 18, 1936.

114 Yesterday was spent around the house, working on language with various
[122] informants who came to see what was going on. It is coming slowly but surely. Late in the afternoon we went for a bath. We have discovered a pool in the little stream across the valley. It is about a mile away-- a journey of precarious footing up and down the mountain, but nevertheless, pretty nice once we get there. The pool is a hollow worn in the rock at the bottom of a little waterfall, about three feet deep in places, and affords a combination of shower and bath. The water seems very cold, but much to our amazement, we found it to be 78° when we checked.

Tobacco

276 993 Long, long ago, Sukugarat/ shot Sokway/gur/ and left him lying on the ground. From his blood grew a plant resembling spinach. Sukagarat/ made a soup of this and tried to eat it, but it stuck in his throat. Then he dried it over the fire and smoked the plant in a banana leaf and it was good. Since then the Kwoma have smoked. Shortly afterwards, all the neighboring tribes came and obtained the seed. Bananas, spinach, tobacco and taro are all supposed to have originated at the same time.

249 [562] Tobacco (him) is grown and smoked by men. The leaves are picked and brought into the house to dry while still green. They are hung up by the stems on palm spathe leaves with the flesh stripped off or on a sago frond with sago needles or small sticks stuck into the frond. The tobacco is dried for three or four days when the leaves are tied together by the stems, four or five at a time, and then wrapped in palm spathes.

276 Cigarettes

[562] [192] Cigarettes (himdangara) are smoked by men and boys. The tobacco is wrapped in a dried leaf from the banana tree (giey). Tobacco leaves are carried either in a net bag or on the ear. Before making the cigarette, the tobacco is put close to the fire for a minute or two to dry (see figure). The cigarette is rolled first on the thigh and then between the two palms until it is tightly packed. It is lighted by holding it against a brand until it glows. It is then put in the mouth and drawn on so that it burns brightly.

[858] Children are not allowed to smoke. Their parents tell them that they will not grow if they do, but the children make a practice of stealing their father's tobacco and smoking it in the woods.

Ornaments

301 Basic to the ornaments worn is a netted base (*sawŋ́nd*) onto which shells
286 are tied and sewn with bark string. The netting is from 4 to 11 rows wide,
287 narrowing on the ends. (Two of these net bases are required in bride price).
192 Shells , *ysi* (small cowrie shells) and *asímangárí* (larger ones), obtained
[583] by trade with the River people, are used for decoration in addition to their
[439] function as money.
[436]

The figure below , an ornament called *nŋ́ masíkí* (crocodiles head) is made from shells attached to the net base.

[562] An ornamented net bag for men worn only on ceremonial occasions is
[796] decorated with clam shell rings (*amángurí*), shell ornaments (*wanyivi*) ,
ysi , *asimangárí* and *lofu wafí* (small turks heads made of wicker work).

[561] There are various types of hair ornaments which are privilege marks
[703] for the various age-grades; others are distinguishing homicidal insignia.
The long tail feathers of the bird ofparadise (*mano*) are the most highly prised for ornamentation. They can only be worn however by a man who has
[858] killed a man or woman (taken a head) from another place. Children can wear gouris pigeon and cockatoo feathers, and wooden combs, but not the *mano*.

301 A kind of plaited work covers one wooden 3-pronged comb. The comb is
[561] only worn by those who have passed the second age grade ceremony. The white
301 plume (not the tail feather) of the bush fowl (*afo fokw*) is attached
237